

Expert Report: Corpus Linguistics

Prepared for the Washington State Attorney General's Office by

Dennis Baron, Ph.D.

In the Matter of:

GABRIELLA SULLIVAN, *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

BOB FERGUSON, *et al.*,

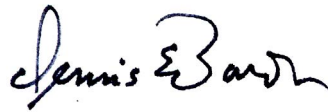
Defendants,

and

ALLIANCE FOR GUN RESPONSIBILITY,

Intervenor-Defendant.

Date: April 20, 2023

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Dennis E. Baron". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Dennis" and last name "Baron" clearly distinguishable.

Dennis Baron, Ph.D.

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I. INTRODUCTION

I have been retained by the Washington State Attorney General's Office to provide expert opinion and testimony regarding Corpus Linguistics research. Corpus Linguistics is the analysis of one or more large, digitized corpora (collections of written texts) consisting of many millions of words. I am being compensated at a rate of \$350 per hour. I have examined the historical use of the terms *arms* and *accoutrements* in order to determine whether magazines, including large-capacity magazines (henceforth, LCMs), were considered arms during the Founding Era (1750–1820) and the period surrounding Reconstruction and the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment (1868–1890). The term “magazine” was not generally used to describe a “bullet container” until well into the nineteenth century, and that use of “magazine” did not become common until the early twentieth century. I therefore evaluated the lexical evidence for the analogous ammunition cases in use before “magazine” became the common term: “cartridge case,” “cartridge box,” or “cartouch case, or box.”

The lexical evidence leads me to conclude that (1) magazines (including what we would call LCMs today), as well as ammunition cases, cartridge cases, boxes and other ammunition storage containers, were considered “accoutrements” or “accessories” and not “arms” during the Founding and Reconstruction Eras.

II. BACKGROUND AND QUALIFICATIONS

I am currently Professor Emeritus and Research Professor at the University of Illinois, where I have served as a member of both the Department of English and the Department of Linguistics since 1975. I served as Head of the Department of English for six years and before that as Director of Rhetoric at the University for eleven years. I earned my Ph.D. in English language and literature from the University of Michigan in 1971, with a dissertation on historical aspects of the English language from Old English to Present-Day English, and I continue to publish widely on matters of historical language use, in addition to topics related to language and law.

I am a life member of the Linguistic Society of America, the American Dialect Society, and the Modern Language Association, as well as a member of the National Council of Teachers of English. I have held a Fulbright Fellowship (to France), a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship for work on a book on language and law, and, most recently, a Guggenheim Fellowship for work on my latest book on language and law. I have also published books on language reform, on usage, and on gender in language. Most relevant for this report, I published two books on language and law: *The English-Only Question: An Official Language for Americans?* (Yale Univ. Press, 1990) and *You Can't Always Say What You Want: The Paradox of Free Speech* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2023).

In addition, I served as lead author on what came to be called “the Linguists’ Brief” in *District of Columbia v. Heller*, 554 U.S. 570 (2008), a brief cited both by Justice Scalia in the majority opinion, and by Justice Stevens in his dissent. I was a co-author on another brief by professors of linguistics and corpus linguistics, cited in *New York State Rifle and Pistol Ass’n. v. Bruen* (No. 20-843, 2022), which Justice Breyer cited in his dissent. In that dissent, Justice Breyer also quoted directly from my essay “Corpus Evidence Illuminates the Meaning of ‘Bear Arms’” (*Hastings Constitutional Law Quarterly*, 46.3: 2019). I have spoken about historical meaning and the Second Amendment at the Federalist Society at the University of Chicago Law School, at the Neubauer Symposium on Historical Semantics at the University of Chicago, at Brigham Young University Law School, at Stanford University, and at the conference “*Heller* after Ten Years” at Hastings College of Law. I have also written opinion essays on historical meaning and the Second Amendment for the *Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times*.

I have submitted declarations and reports in the following cases: *Ocean State Tactical, LLC, et al. v. State of Rhode Island* (Case No. 1:22-cv-00246-JJM-PAS) (D. Rhode Island); *Hanson, et al, v. District of Columbia, et al.* (Case No. 1:22-cv-02256-RC) (D.D.C.); *Delaware State Sportsmen’s Association, Inc., et al., v. Delaware Department of Safety and Homeland Security; Nathaniel McQueen, Jr.* (Case No. 1:22-cv-00951-RGA, Consolidated) (D. Delaware); *National Association for Gun Rights and Capen v. Baker* (Case No. 22-cv-11431-FDS) (D.

Massachusetts); *NAGR and Flanigan v. Lamont, et al.* (Connecticut: C.A. No. 3:22-cv-1118) (D. Connecticut); *National Association for Gun Rights, et al., v. Lopez* (Case No. 1:22-cv-404-DKW-RT) (D. Hawai'i); *Oregon Firearms Federation, et al, v. Kotek, et al.,* (Case No. 2:22-cv-01815-IM) (D. Oregon); and declarations on behalf of the State of California in *Rupp, et al. v. Bonta* (Case No. 8:17-cv-00746-JLS-JDE) (C.D. California), *Duncan, et al. v. Bonta* (Case No. 3:17-cv-01017-BEN-JLB) (S.D. California), and *Fouts, et al.v. Bonta* (Case No. 3:19-cv-01662-BEN-JLB) (S.D. California). In the past twenty years I have also served as an expert witness in fourteen cases involving document interpretation.

My recent essay, “Look It Up in Your *Funk and Wagnalls*: How Courts Define the Words of the Law,” an analysis of how judges incorporate information from dictionaries and digitized corpora as they ascertain legal meaning, appears in *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, Vol. 43.2 (2022): 95–144.

This report is based on my professional knowledge and expertise, and on my research using accepted scientific linguistic methodology in the field of Corpus Linguistics, the analysis of one or more large, digitized corpora consisting of many millions of words.

III. SUMMARY AND OPINIONS

Historical evidence from a number of large textual databases, or corpora, shows that during the Founding Era and the Reconstruction Era, “arms” is used as a general term for weapons (typically swords, knives, rifles, and pistols), but arms does not include ammunition, ammunition containers, flints, scabbards, holsters, armor, or shields, which are included in the category “accoutrements.” Nor does “arms” refer to parts of weapons, for example the trigger of a gun, the hilt of a sword, or the cartridge box or magazine that holds the bullets.

Instead, when this additional equipment is mentioned, we find phrases like “arms and ammunition”; “arms and accoutrements”; or “arms, ammunition, and accoutrements.” The phrase “arms and accoutrements” is frequently used in military contexts to distinguish weaponry and related equipment from the rest of a soldier’s or militia member’s equipment. For example, militia requirements often specify that soldiers have certain arms (pistols, swords, rifles, according to their

rank) as well as certain “accoutrements” (the word is typically plural), including horses, saddles, cartridge cases or boxes, scabbards, flints, and so on. “Cartridge boxes” and “cartouch boxes” are the terms used for ammunition containers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and are analogous to today’s “magazines.” When “arms and accoutrements” occurs as a phrase, there is a clear distinction made between weapons themselves and the soldier’s cartridge boxes or cartouch boxes, which are typically identified as accessories along with scabbards, saddles, holsters, belts, caps, pouches, and the rest of a soldier’s equipment. When the term “accoutrements” occurs alone, as in “the accoutrements of a soldier,” it functions as a general term that may include both arms and accessories.

IV. OPINION

A. Theory and Methodology

Corpus linguistics as a field developed in the late 1960s, when scholars began using computer programs to analyze large bodies of digitized text. Initial work in corpus linguistics did not typically involve legal issues. Literary scholars, taking advantage of the ability of computers to search large digitized databases, facilitated their analysis of print materials by developing computerized concordances to the works of Shakespeare, Milton, and other major English writers. They plotted the frequency of words and phrases in order to develop a picture of an author’s style, and to determine authorship of a particular work when the provenance was in doubt. Soon, in addition to solving literary mysteries, linguists successfully applied computerized textual analysis in a number of criminal cases in the United States and in England involving, for example, the authorship of a ransom note or an email. Lexicographers, who began compiling analog databases of text in the late nineteenth century, began to digitize their analogue data and to add to that material, assembling computerized databases of historical and contemporary text and, more recently, of spoken language as well, in order to arrive at more precise definitions of the multiple senses of words and phrases.

Scholars seeking to understand the meaning of a word or phrase at a time in the past examine the usage of that term in sources contemporaneous to the time period at issue. Analyzing

the usage of the word or phrase in as many sources as possible permits language scholars to understand how the word or phrase was used to convey meaning. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) is the standard dictionary of the English language compiled on historical principles. As a graduate student at the University of Michigan in 1970, I coded analog texts from the relevant OED files to help build the computerized database for the Dictionary of Early Modern English, the period from 1500–1800 that is particularly relevant to the language of the Founding Era. Today, major dictionaries like the OED and the Merriam-Webster suite of dictionaries rely on public databases of oral and written language, as well as their own proprietary databases, in order to revise older definitions and to track the spread of new words and meanings. The major dictionary makers working on other languages use similar databases in their own work.

Over the past twenty years, legal corpus linguistics (LCL) has developed as a subset of corpus linguistics. LCL involves the analysis of digitized corpora of current and historical English to establish meaning—often referred to as “original public meaning”—in statutes and in the Constitution. LCL often provides more information about the meaning of words and phrases than can be gleaned from dictionary definitions. Over the past decade, LCL has become an important tool in helping to determine original public meaning when such meaning is in doubt.

In *Muscarello v. United States*, 524 U.S. 125 (1998), we find an early use of computer searching to help determine the meaning of a word in a statute. In *Muscarello*, the Supreme Court considered whether “a person who knowingly possesses and conveys firearms in a vehicle, including in its glove compartment or trunk, can be deemed to be within the scope of the statutory phrase ‘carries a firearm.’” To answer that question in the affirmative, Justice Breyer searched two computerized newspaper databases (Lexis/Nexis, for the *New York Times*, and Westlaw, for “US News”) to clarify the meaning of the words “carry,” “vehicle,” and “weapon.”

In 2012, Judge Richard Posner, of the Seventh Circuit, was perhaps the first jurist to use a general internet search in order to determine a word’s meaning in a statute. Not satisfied with the dictionary definition that the government relied on in the case before him, Judge Posner ran a Google search to confirm that the word “harbor” in the Immigration Act of 1917 does not mean

‘shelter,’ as the government claimed, but rather ‘hide, conceal from view,’ as he felt it must mean in the context of the statute. *United States v. Costello*, 666 F.3d 1040 (7th Cir. 2012).

More principled, scientific database searches soon followed, and in 2018 Justice Thomas Lee, of the Utah Supreme Court, a long-time champion of corpus linguistics, together with the legal scholar Stephen Mouritsen, summarized the latest research in corpus linguistics and LCL as a way to determine ordinary meaning, and more specifically, original public meaning, with more clarity (Thomas Lee and Stephen Mouritsen, “Judging Ordinary Meaning,” *Yale Law Journal* 127 (2018): 788–879). Jurists over the past few years have found that in several cases, LCL proves more useful than the period dictionaries (for example, the dictionaries of Samuel Johnson and Noah Webster) that courts have often relied on to determine historical meaning. LCL often supplements the historical interpretations found in older dictionaries and in the Oxford English Dictionary, as well, allowing a more precise interpretation of historical text data.

In addition to the publication of several significant law review articles by experts in the field of corpus linguistics, there have been several conferences on legal corpus linguistics in the past few years, and a number of continuing-education seminars on LCL are now offered for judges and lawyers. As a result, corpus linguistics has drawn increased attention from the courts, including recent mentions in decisions in the Sixth, Seventh, and Ninth Circuits, as well as a comment by Justice Alito in his concurrence in *Facebook, Inc. v. Duguid*, 141 S. Ct. 1163 (2021), where he suggested that LCL may one day provide a useful alternative to the canons of interpretation.

Several large databases have come online in the past few years that facilitate LCL research. Brigham Young University’s Center for Law and Corpus Linguistics hosts the Corpus of Founding Era American English (COFEA), with more than 126,000 texts, comprising close to 137 million words and covering the years 1760–1799. BYU’s Corpus of Early Modern English (COEME), with data from 1475–1800, contains over 40,000 texts and 1.1 billion words. For the nineteenth century, the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA), initially developed at BYU but now independent of that institution, currently contains 475 million words of text from 1820–2020. The size of these databases continues to grow as more works are digitized, coded, and added to the

corpora. In compiling this report, I reviewed each of these databases. Some of the corpora provided data for some lexical searches, but not for others. The examples cited in this report specify which corpus they are drawn from.

Critics of LCL have objected that databases like COFEA and COEME contain only texts written by “elites,” whose language may differ from that of “ordinary people” who do not write at all, or who for various reasons do not write texts likely to be included in the available corpora. It is certainly the case that many printed books and periodicals, along with documents like the Constitution, its amendments, and state and federal statutes, tend to be written by educated specialists and professional writers. Although “ordinary people” are expected to understand the language of the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and other founding documents, as well as the laws that govern the nation, such texts typically require specialized knowledge. A reading-difficulty formula like the commonly used Flesch-Kincaid scale suggests that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution require a fifteenth-grade reading level, while according to one comprehensive study, *Adult Literacy in America* (National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, 1993; <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs93/93275.pdf>), the average American adult tends to have a seventh or eighth-grade reading level. The National Center for Education Statistics no longer uses “grade level,” instead rating literacy levels for Americans between ages 16 and 65 on a scale from 1 to 5; measurements conducted in 2003 showed no significant change from the 1993 NCES report; and the most recent data, from 2014, confirm that most adult Americans still test at or below level 2, with 4.1% testing *below* level 1 (<https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2019/2019179/index.asp>).

In order to counter any “elite” bias that may be found in databases like COFEA, COEME, and COHA, I rely as well on five digitized newspaper databases covering the period 1750–1900, focusing for this report on the Founding Era and on the period of Reconstruction after the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment. Newspapers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the principal means of communicating news and information. As such, they embodied much of the language of the “ordinary people” who read them. These early newspapers also provide researchers

with more data for the nineteenth century than a corpus like COHA, which covers the same period but tends to focus on literary and specialized texts rather than material for the general reader. Because of changes in print technology and the spread of literacy, Founding Era newspapers differed from the newspapers of the post-Civil War era.

Print technology remained relatively static between the 1450s, when printing presses first appeared in Europe, and the early nineteenth century, when the Industrial Revolution drastically changed printing methods. The first printing press was adapted by Gutenberg from the design of the traditional wine press, and for centuries, printing was a slow and labor-intensive process. As a result, newspapers in the founding era were small, averaging four to eight pages. Publication was less frequent as well. Papers tended to appear weekly or semi-weekly, rather than daily. Even so, newspapers in the Founding Era and later, during Reconstruction, provided average Americans with their principal access to all the critical events and documents of their time, along with coverage of local and international news. Although newspaper subscribers tended to be “elites,” newspaper content was widely shared by word of mouth: ultimately, most Americans in the Founding Era, including those who would be classified as illiterate or poorly educated by today’s standards, got their news from newspapers.

Since the 1960s, database compilers have been able to track contemporary spoken English more successfully, though none of the databases for the Founding Era and for the post-Civil War period cover the spoken language of Americans. Although scholars can reconstruct some of that oral language, we are always doing so through the lens of print versions purporting to represent or comment on ordinary speech.

The newspaper databases that I have examined are Readex Historical American Newspapers; Chronicling America (newspapers digitized by the Library of Congress); the British Newspaper Archive (compiled by the British Library); and two private subscription services, newspapers.com and newspaperarchive.com. For this report, both Readex and newspapers.com provide the most-complete picture of the language of the Founding Era newspapers as well as the ordinary language of the later nineteenth century.

All the databases contain some duplicates. COFEA and COEME digitize multiple editions of the same work; and the newspaper databases not only duplicate some (though not all) of one another's content, but they also contain a number of duplicate stories because, particularly in the period of newspaper growth during the nineteenth century—in an age before the wire services and syndication appeared, and before the larger papers began to set up news bureaus in key areas around the country and around the world—newspapers routinely printed each other's stories, sometimes acknowledging their source and sometimes not. I exclude duplicate citations from all my corpus searches.

A dictionary definition represents the authors' and editors' conclusions regarding the meaning of a word. Corpora, on the other hand, consist of actual usages within the context of natural language. Corpora, therefore, offer additional insights into the meaning of words and phrases, supplementing a dictionary. Similarly, a word in a particular context might reflect a specific sense that dictionaries missed or omitted in favor of a broader, more generally applicable meaning.

Like dictionaries, corpora are by necessity incomplete. LCL does not replace dictionaries, but it does provide an important supplement to them. Typical LCL analyses are conducted using a keyword and a few words surrounding it, to supply context. Sometimes a specific "citation"—a term of art used by lexicographers meaning an example taken from actual text—is ambiguous. And sometimes, a search of the data set returns only small number of citations, perhaps ten or twenty rather than a few hundred. In such cases, I supplement my use of LCL with a reading of the full context of the citations in order better to determine the keyword's meaning and the relevance of the citation to the search question.

B. The Meaning of "Arms" and "Accoutrements" in the Corpora

In this report I will initially discuss the meaning of the term "magazine" historically and whether the "cartridge box," "cartridge case," and "cartouch box" in the Founding Era are equivalent to term "magazine" as used today. I then consider whether the meaning of "magazine"

and its earlier analogues, “the cartridge case” and “cartouch box,” are treated as accessories or accoutrements, rather than arms.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, “magazine” was a word that meant “storehouse, depot.” A magazine was a place, often a building or warehouse, to store goods and supplies. When used in a military sense, a magazine was a building designated for storing gunpowder, and because gunpowder was an explosive substance, it was subject to strict regulation: some towns banned or heavily regulated the storage of gunpowder within city limits. The word “magazine” was not typically used to refer to the compartment of a gun containing bullets until late in the nineteenth century. Although the term “magazine” appears in the phrase “magazine wind gun” in 1744, that usage is marked as “rare” by the Oxford English Dictionary, which also marks the phrase “magazine wind gun” as “obsolete.” In its separate, main entry for “magazine,” the OED gives the earliest use of “magazine” meaning ‘a bullet storage container’ as 1868, and although that sense of “magazine” actually appears as early as 1860, when it is used in two firearm patents, the term remained relatively rare until the 1920s.

Before that time, bullets were kept in “cartridge boxes,” sometimes called “cartouch boxes,” or “cartridge cases” or pouches, and these bullet storage containers were part of the general category of military accoutrements, not arms. The data suggests that “cartridge boxes,” analogous to today’s LCMs, were viewed as accoutrements, i.e., the ancillary equipment associated with soldiering or service in the military. The OED defines “accoutrements” as “items of apparel; (more generally) additional pieces of dress or equipment, trappings; (Military) the outfit of a soldier other than weapons and garments” (OED online, s.v. “accoutrement”; the word typically appears as a plural).

Thus, the military sense of “accoutrements” generally refers, not to weapons, but to other accessories worn or carried by soldiers. The OED illustrates this second, military, sense with an example from the Duke of Wellington’s dispatches in 1813: “In order to collect the wounded and their arms and accoutrements.” Here, Wellington, widely recognized as a consummate soldier, and

who would soon defeat Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, makes a clear distinction between “arms” and “accoutrements.”

The OED definitions are instructive. But in order to determine more specifically whether the term “accoutrements” included “cartridge boxes,” the predecessor to modern magazines, I consulted two digitized historical databases: COFEA and COEME. A COFEA search returns these examples where “cartridge boxes” and “cartouch boxes” are specifically included in the category of accoutrements, not arms:

- a) 1774 – “The cartouch boxes and other military accoutrements belonging to the noncommissioned officers and privates” (Journals of the Continental Congress);
- b) 1774 – “The cartouch boxes and every other species of military accoutrements annexed to the persons of the officers and soldiers of General Burgoyne’s army.” (Journal of the Continental Congress);
- c) 1776 – “The General is surprised to find the Militia applying for Cartouch Boxes and other Accoutrements.” (George Washington, General Orders, February 17);
- d) 1777 – “Many of their Arms are indifferent, and almost the whole [of Washington’s troops] are destitute of pouches and Other necessary Accoutrements.” (George Washington, Letter to John Hancock, October 10–11; the pouches in question are ammunition holders);
- e) 1777 – “The officers and men were to . . . deliver up their arms, the cartouch boxes and other military accoutrements. . . .” (William Duer, Congressional Resolution: A State of Facts, December);
- f) 1778 – “[T]he board, on the 17th of April, impowered a Capt. Starr of Middleton in Connecticut to receive a quantity of public leather of Colo. Trumbull, and get it made up into shoes and accoutrements, half of each, the cartridge boxes upon the new model; and to send on both to the main army” (Timothy Pickering, Letter to George Washington, June 9, 1778. At the time, cartridge boxes were made of wood or leather, or a combination of the two); and
- g) 1783 – “And as to cartridge boxes and other leathern accoutrements, saddles & other furniture for dragoons” (Timothy Pickering, Letter to George Washington, April 22).

And COEME adds this example, where “cartridge box” appears in a list that includes “accoutrements” but not “arms”:

1788 – “If you could only tell us how to keep papa at home, my drum, spontoon, cartouch box, and accoutrements, should all be yours.” (*The Children’s Friend, Translated from the French*).

My review of the corpora also confirmed that “accoutrements” are regularly referred to separately from “arms.” A COFEA search for the occurrence of “accoutrements” within six words of “arms” returned 873 hits (including a small number of duplicates). A similar search of COEME returned 126 hits, the earliest from 1656. I determined that the two search terms, “arms” and “accoutrements,” often appear together as a single phrase, “arms and accoutrements,” typically in military contexts having to do with an army or militia unit. “Accoutrements” often occurs in a list alongside, but separate from, ammunition: “arms, accoutrements, (and) ammunition”—though when ammunition is not listed separately, the term “accoutrements” will generally include ammunition. The second OED citation for “accoutrements,” dated 1902, differentiates “ammunition” from “accoutrements”: “When they landed they brought on shore besides a quantity of ammunition and accoutrements . . . and large stores of flour, sugar and tobacco, &c.” (G. S. Whitmore *Last Maori War* i. 4).

“Arms” as a stand-alone term refers to weapons. “Arms” almost never includes ammunition or ammunition storage containers such as cartridge boxes. These are the three examples that a COHA search returns:

- a) 1821 – “It is necessary to obtain ammunition, arms and accoutrements, and as many horses as you can get” (William Dobein James, “A Sketch of the life of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion and a history of his brigade”);
- b) 1909 – “Lyon was ordered to deliver to Governor Yates 10,000 stand of arms with accoutrements and ammunition.” (Robert J. Rombauer, “The Union Cause in St. Louis in 1861); and
- c) 1949 – “It will be necessary that arms, ammunition, accoutrements, tents and camp equipage be deposited there for them the troops.” (Francis F. Beirne, “War of 1812”).

The “cartridge box” or “cartouch box” is typically mentioned in lists of accoutrements, often in connection with other items worn with a soldier’s uniform. The “cartridge box” almost never appears to be included among a soldier’s weapons. The OED defines “cartridge box” as “a box for storing or carrying cartridges; the case in which a soldier carries his supply of cartridges” (OED online; this definition covers “cartouch box” as well). The OED cites the definition in Smyth and Belcher’s *Sailor’s Word-Book* (1867) to illustrate its function. Here is the full definition of

“cartridge-box” in that dictionary of navy terminology: “a cylindrical wooden box with a lid sliding upon a handle of small rope, just containing one cartridge, and used for its safe conveyance from the magazine to the gun—borne to and fro by the powder-monkeys (boys) of old. The term is loosely applied to the ammunition-pouch” (Admiral W. H. Smyth and Vice-Admiral Sir E. Belcher, *The Sailor’s Word-Book: An Alphabetical Digest of Nautical Terms*, London, 1867). The OED offers an 1892 citation for “magazine” as the equivalent of a cartridge box, calling such usage “obsolete and rare”: “W. W. Greener, *Breech-loader* 184 Cartridges are best carried in a magazine of solid leather” (OED online, s.v. magazine, IV (d)). By that time, “magazine” was more typically used in the sense we use it today, “A container or (detachable) receptacle in a repeating rifle, machine-gun, etc., containing a supply of cartridges which are fed automatically to the breech” (OED online, s.v. magazine, sense IV (b)).

A search of Readex America’s Historical Newspapers for “cartridge box,” and the synonymous “cartouch-box,” for the Founding Era years 1750–1790, returns 176 citations, including multiple duplicates. A Readex search for the period after the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, from 1868–1890, returns 1,306 citations, also with many duplicates. The following examples show instances where “cartouch boxes” or “cartridge boxes,” are categorically separate from arms or appear in the list of accessories to arms (examples (a), (b), (d), (e), (g), (h), (i). Note that in example (d) the list separates small arms from cutlasses as well. And examples (f), (j), (k), (l), (n), (o), (p), (q), and (r) clearly show that cartridge boxes are accoutrements, not arms:

- a) 1756 – “Every such Male Person . . . provide himself with one well fixed Musket, or Fuzee, with a Worm and Priming Wire, one Cartouch Box, with nine charges of Gun Powder, and Ball suitable therein, and three good Flints . . . and shall keep such Arms and Ammunition by him, in good Order.” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 13, 1756.
- b) 1774 – “That each man be provided with a good firelock and bayonet fitted thereon, half a pound of powder, two pounds of lead, and a cartouch box, or powder-horn and bag for ball, and be in readiness to act on any emergency.” Proceedings of the Continental Congress, *Pennsylvania Journal*, December 21, 1774.
- c) 1775 – “That each Inhabitant, or Person, as aforesaid, who shall provide Arms for himself, well fixed with a good Bayonet and Cartouch-Box, shall be paid a minimum of 10s.” *The Massachusetts Gazette*, May 19, 1775.

- d) 1775 – “We hear from Charlestown, South-Carolina, that on the 21st of March, at Night, about eight Hundred Stand of Small Arms, 2 Hundred Cutlasses, and all the Cartouch-Boxes, fit for Service, with several Bundles of Match & some Flints, were taken out of the public Armoury.” *New Hampshire Gazette*, June 2, 1775.
- e) 1775 – “Deserted from Colonel Woodridge’s regiment . . . Martin Nash . . . carried away a long gun of Gen. Pomeroy’s make, a cartridge box and good stock of ammunition belonging to the province.” *New England Chronicle*, November 9, 1775.
- f) 1778 – “numbers of the cartouch-boxes and several other articles of military accoutrements annexed to the persons of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers in General Burgoyne’s army, have not been delivered up.” *Massachusetts Spy*, February 19, 1778.
- g) 1778 – “List of Necessaries and Accoutrements for each Horseman: 1. A well-tempered sword . . . 2. A carbine, fusee, or short blunderbuss . . . 3. A pair of pistols and holsters. 4. A sword-belt—a belt for the carbine . . . 5. A cartridge-box to buckle round the waist, with twelve tin pipes for the cartridges. 6. A helmet . . . 7. A saddle . . .” *New-Jersey Gazette* March 25, 1778.
- h) 1785 – “A Neapolitan officer was killed in the same engagement by a cartouch box taking fire while charging the guns.” *South-Carolina Weekly Gazette*, August 4, 1785.
- i) 1787 – Abstract from the Militia Law. “That every non-commissioned officer and private soldier of the said militia . . . shall equip himself . . . with a good fire-arm, with a steel or iron ramrod, a spring to retain the same, a worm, priming wire and brush, a bayonet fitted to his fire-arm, and a scabbard and belt for the same, a cartridge box that will hold fifteen cartridges at least, six flints, one pound of powder, forty leaden balls suitable for his fire-arm, a haversack, blanket, and canteen.” *Massachusetts Gazette*, February 2, 1787.
- j) 1787 – “All persons liable to do Militia Duty . . . must provide themselves with proper arms and accoutrements, viz. a musket and bayonet, a cartouch box or pouch that will contain twenty-four cartridges.” *State Gazette of South Carolina*, July 16, 1787.
- k) 1868 – “Government Sale at Watertown Arsenal Mass. . . . Lot of cavalry accoutrements, consisting of Cartridge Boxes, Pistol Holsters, Sabre Belts, Knots, &c.: lot of Infantry accoutrements, consisting of Bayonet Scabbards, Cap Pouches, Cartridge Boxes, Gun Slings.” *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), January 9, 1868. [Perhaps the clearest and most direct citation specifying cartridge boxes as accoutrements.]
- l) 1868 – Another government sale lists weapons (carbines, muskets, rifles, and pistols) followed by a list of items that are separate from weapons: “254 carbine cartridge boxes,” carbine slings, cavalry sabre belts, bayonet scabbards, cap pouches, “1,619 cartridge boxes,” “257 cartridge-box Belts,” gun slings, waist belts, “and various other articles.” *Daily Morning Chronicle* (Washington, D.C.), April 22, 1868.

- m) 1869 – This account describes the new French “Mitrailleuse,” a field weapon which would seem to be analogous to what we call a machine gun today, and the cartridge box would be the equivalent of what today we call a removable magazine. The Mitrailleuse is “a new ‘ball syringe’ in the shape of a small cannon. . . . It contains thirty-seven common infantry cartridges, arranged like cigars in a bundle. As soon as it is attached to the breech of the cannon, the Mitrailleuse is loaded. A man sitting on the carriage fires it by turning a crank. . . . The crank is turned once more and the cartridge box is removed from the cannon; a man to the right takes it, removes it from the ‘cigar box’; the men to the left put a new one in.” *Daily Albany Argus*, November 6, 1869.
- n) 1870 – In this description of the French National Guard, the writer notes the importance of rapid-fire rifles for defense against the Prussian troops. Several paragraphs later, the cartridge box is listed along with a guard’s uniform requirements: “a uniform will be obligatory for all. Each one must be provided with a weather-proof knapsack . . . a cartridge-box or pouch, and a half-woolen covering of the material of a tent.” *New York Tribune*, November 5, 1870.
- o) 1871 – Article about a memorial statue in which the cartridge box is identified as part of the soldier’s uniform: “a soldier dressed in full uniform (overcoat, cartridge box, belt, etc.,) leaning on his musket.” *Boston Journal*, November 12, 1870.
- p) 1872 – This list of government ordnance and ordnance stores for sale groups weapons and accoutrements separately, with cartridge boxes clearly identified as accoutrements. The weapons for sale are muskets, rifled muskets, and revolvers, followed by this comment, “Nearly all the Starr’s Revolvers and about two-thirds of the other arms are in fair order.” After the arms list comes the list of accoutrements, consisting of cap pouches, waist belts, bayonet scabbards, “cartridge box and belt plates,” musket and pistol appendages, “and an assortment of other accoutrements and appendages.” *Daily Morning Chronicle* (Washington, D.C.), February 3, 1872.
- q) 1876 – In this description of a dead body of a soldier found on a beach, the cartridge box is described as an article of the deceased’s uniform: “The body was clothed in a blue overcoat and pants, and had on waist-belt, cross-belt and cartridge-box.” *Wilmington Morning Star* (North Carolina), February 8, 1876.
- r) 1879 – The cartridge box forms part of a new military uniform: “In the rest of the brigade the multiplicity of belts is done away with, and in place is substituted a simple body belt to which the bayonet scabbard and cartridge box is attached. Equipped in such a uniform . . . the brigade will present a solid and soldierly appearance.” *New Haven Register*, July 28, 1879.

In sum, in the vast majority of examples, arms referred to weapons. Arms generally did not include ammunition or other weapon accessories, including the cartridge box, the historical analogue to the magazines. Instead, “cartridge boxes” and “cartouch boxes” were considered “accoutrements,” or accessories, like the other military equipment (scabbards, belts, and so forth) that was separate from, and did not include, arms.

But English usage is never simple. As linguists often put it, “all grammars leak”—which is to say, there are always a few counterexamples in the data. The existence of such outliers does not invalidate the data or undercut an interpretation, it simply shows that although the users of a language share a common sense of what words and grammatical constructions mean, variation in meaning and usage occurs in all human language. Given the volume of samples, that is not surprising. Thus, for example, as in this example from COFEA, “accoutrements” may occasionally encompass arms:

1789 – A few years since, some boys, equipped in mock military accoutrements, such as paper-caps, paper-belts, wooden swords, &c. were beating up for recruits in Parliament-street, Boston. [*The American jest book*: Part I[-II]; emphasis added; here militaryaccoutrements includes toy swords.]

In these four citations from the Readex newspaper corpus, it is not always clear from the context whether cartridge boxes are arms or accoutrements, or they are simply not being categorized:

- a) 1753 – “[E]very listed Soldier and other Householder . . . be always provided with a well-fix’d Firelock . . . a Snapsach, Cartouch Box, one Pound of Powder, twenty Bullets fit for his Gun, twelve Flints, a good Sword or Cutlass, a Worm and Priming Wire, on penalty of six Shillings for want of such Arms as is hereby required, and two Shillings for each other Defect.” *Boston Post-Boy*, April 30, 1753. Considering citation (c), below, dated 1756, it is likely that the fine for not having a cartouch box in this example would not be the higher fine for a weapons defect, but rather the lower fine of 2s. levied for “other defects.”
- b) 1755 – “whoever provides himself a good Firelock, Sword or Hatchet, Belt and Cartridge-Box, to receive 16s. more . . . but the Arms to be returned when the Service is over.” *Boston Gazette*, April 21, 1755. It is not clear from the context whether the cartridge boxes are part of the arms that must be returned. In other articles, cartridge boxes are treated as personal items. They may bear a variety of decorations, and they are sometimes listed along with other uniform items in a description of a soldier’s funeral.
- c) 1756 – “That every Male Person . . . shall . . . provide himself with one well fixed Musket, or Fuzee, with a Worm and Priming Wire, one Cartouch Box with nine Charges of Gun Powder, and Ball suitable therein, and three good Flints . . . and shall keep such Arms and Ammunition by him, in good Order, and fit for Service, at all Times . . . under the Penalty of Twenty Shillings for Want of a well fixed Musket or Fuzee, with a Worm and Priming Wire, and Two Shillings for the Want of every Cartouch Box, and Two Shillings for the Want of nine Charges of Gun Power and Ball, and three Flints, or any of them.” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 13, 1756. The larger fine for lack of arms, along with lower fines for missing Cartouch Boxes and ammunition, suggest that cartouch boxes and cartridge boxes do not belong to the category “arms” but are instead a form of accessory.

- d) 1785 – “His European weapons consisted of a musket, bayonet and cartouch-box; a fowling piece; two pair of pistols; and two or three swords or cutlasses.” *History of Capt. Cook’s Voyage, Massachusetts Centinel*, January 15, 1785. Here cartouch box appears among the list of weapons carried by an islander that Cook encountered.

Another source, from 1777, refers to firearms and other military accoutrements, implying, too, that arms may be a subcategory of “accoutrements”:

“any drafted soldier . . . who is unprovided with a fire-arm, and other military accoutrements prescribed by the militia law.” Massachusetts, Acts & Laws, March Session, Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1777, p. 10 (*but see* Par. 38, ex. a).

But the fact that “arms” are sometimes included as a subcategory of accoutrements, when “accoutrements” is used in its most general sense, referring to ‘the equipment of a soldier,’ does not imply the converse: i.e., that “arms” includes accessories or other “accoutrements.”

Despite a handful of exceptions like those just cited, in literally hundreds of cases, “arms” and “accoutrements” are treated as separate categories of military gear. Here are some typical examples from the Founding Era:

- a) 1776 – “The Sum of ten Shillings . . . to purchase said Fire Arms and Accoutrements” (Acts and Laws March Session, Colony of Massachusetts Bay; here arms and accoutrements are separate, unlike the citation from 1777, above, from the same source, where arms and accoutrements are lumped together).
- b) 1780 – “arms, ammunition, accoutrements, drums and fifes in possession of the respective regiments” (George Washington, General Orders January 22).
- c) 1783 – “Such of the Noncommissioned officers and privates . . . shall be allowed the fire arms and accoutrements as an extra reward” (George Washington, General Orders, May 1).
- d) 1795 – “you will march . . . with arms and accoutrements in good order.” (*Incidents of the Insurrection in the Western Part of Pennsylvania, in the year 1774*. This example is from COEME; the other examples in this list are from COFEA).
- e) 1798 – “To hold his powder and his ball, his gun, accoutrements and all” [French Arrogance, or, “The Cat Let Out of the Bag.” This poetic example shows that the idiomatic phrase arms and accoutrements has become part of the general language available not just to military specialists but also to poets and novelists.]

A newspapers.com search for “accoutrements” returns 1,392 hits. There are 692 matches for the exact phrase “arms and accoutrements.” Here is a mid-eighteenth-century British example

from the newspapers.com corpus where *arms* and *accoutrements* are separate categories, as is *ammunition*: “This Militia shall receive their Arms, Accoutrements, and Ammunition from the Ordnance.” *Derby Mercury*, March 19, 1756, p. 3.

Similarly, there is this “ploughshares into swords” example of a Cambridge University library to be converted to military use: “[T]he new Building intended for a publick Library . . . may be converted into a Barrack, and be supplied with Provisions, Arms, and Accoutrements, at the Expence of the University” (*Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, March 20, 1756, p. 2).

A search of “arms and accoutrements” in the Readex database of America’s Historical Newspapers returns 3,103 hits from 1750–1800; and 2,036 hits from 1868–1880. This early example from the colonial period appeared in the *Boston Evening Post* in 1750. It distinguishes “arms” from uniforms, “accoutrements,” and other military equipment: “All Gentlemen Volunteers [in Nova Scotia] . . . shall be completely Cloathed in blue Broad Cloth, receive Arms, Accoutrements, Provisions, and all other Things necessary for a Gentleman Ranger.”

This example from the *Pittsburgh Gazette* in 1789 reflects a clear sense that “arms” and “accoutrements” are distinct categories in the new nation as well: “The militia . . . must be considered as the palladium of our security The formation and discipline of the militia of the continent should be absolutely uniform; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States.”

The text of a bill in Congress to establish a uniform militia appeared in the *New York Journal* in 1790. It confirms the Founding-Era sense that “arms,” “ammunition,” and “accoutrements” make up distinct and separate elements of a soldier’s kit: “There shall be appointed an adjutant general for each state . . . whose duty it shall be to . . . report[] the actual situation of their arms, accoutrements, and ammunition.... Every non-commissioned officer or private ... for appearing at such meeting or rendezvous without his arms, ammunition, or accoutrements, as directed by this act, shall pay the sum of twenty-five cents.”

And this example from 1868 clearly distinguishes what counts as “arms,” and what counts, separately, as “accoutrements”: “At Watertown Arsenal, Massachusetts ... the following Arms,

&c., will be sold: 10,699 rifled and smooth-bore Muskets . . . ; 261 Carbines . . . ; 305 Sabres . . . ; lot of cavalry accoutrements, consisting of Bayonet Scabbards, Cap Pouches, Cartridge Boxes, Gun Slings, Waist Belts, &c.” *Daily Morning Chronicle* (Washington, DC).

The newspaper data parallels that of COFEA: the phrase “arms and accoutrements” is almost always military. The phrase sometimes occurs alongside “ammunition” as a separate list item. “Accoutrements,” when it appears alone in a military context in these newspapers, is a more general term, used for gear and rarely, for arms as well.

It is clear that “arms and accoutrements” was, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a common military phrase, in both England and America. English often yokes terms commonly found together into idiomatic pairings, sometimes called binomials, like “bacon and eggs” or “salt and pepper.” Such pairs take on the characteristics of a formula and often appear in the same order (this order may be dictated by logical succession of events, or it may be random). “Eggs and bacon” is rarer than “bacon and eggs.” Such ordered pairs are called “irreversible binomials,” though there is often nothing but custom to prevent anyone from reversing the order. The word “accoutrements” typically occurs in a list after “arms” (more rarely, it may occur before “arms” as well), and it is typically a separate category from “arms” (though not always, as the above examples show).

There are over 47,000 citations in newspapers.com for “arms” or “accoutrements” in the period 1868–1900, and 15,799 citations for the exact phrase “arms and accoutrements.” Examining a selection of the 15,799 citations of the phrase confirms that both in England and the United States, “arms” and “accoutrements” are separate categories. Here is one example from Gloucestershire, in England, in 1868: “[A] letter was received from the Home Secretary, pointing out the danger of permitting an accumulation of arms and accoutrements to take place in prisons, and requesting, if there were any arms or munitions of war stored in the prison, that they should be removed to the nearest military depot.” *Gloucester Chronicle*, January 4, 1868, p. 2.

A similar citation from Iowa in 1868 states, “Persons having in their possession any arms, accoutrements or ammunition belonging to the State, are requested to return the same at once to

the Adjutant General, as proper places have been provided by the State for the safe keeping of all such property.” *Cedar Falls Gazette* (Cedar Falls, Iowa). And this, from Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania, also 1868, states: “More than half of the Seventh Cavalry (Custer’s) decamped with their horses, arms, and accoutrements, and probably made their way to the gold regions of Colorado and Montana.” *The Jeffersonian* (Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania). The circa-1868 data confirmed the Founding Era data that “accoutrements” is primarily a military term, and that when “accoutrements” co-occurs with “arms,” the terms refer to separate categories of equipment.

One final note on “accoutrements”: the United States Supreme Court’s recent decision in *New York State Rifle and Pistol Association v. Bruen* (No. 20-843, 2022) references *North Carolina v. Huntley* (25 N.C. 418, 1843), a decision by the North Carolina Supreme Court affirming Huntley’s conviction for carrying a shotgun illegally “to the terror of the people,” as forbidden by the Statute of Northampton in 1328. In that decision, the North Carolina Supreme Court stated, “A gun is an ‘unusual weapon,’ wherewith to be armed and clad. No man amongst us carries it about with him, as one of his everyday accoutrements—as a part of his dress.”

In the citation above, “accoutrements” does not refer to weaponry, but to the more general category of “everyday attire, or clothing.” The court is saying that it may be normal to wear a shirt, or a belt, or shoes, but it is not normal to wear a gun in North Carolina in 1843. It is legal—the court agrees—to carry a gun for any lawful purpose, “either of business or amusement”—but it is not normal or typical to do so. In affirming Huntley’s conviction, the court noted that his purpose in carrying a shotgun was not a legal one.

V. CONCLUSION

To repeat, there is virtually no lexical data that I have found showing that “arms” includes “accoutrements,” “cartridge boxes,” “cartouch boxes,” “magazines,” or any parts of weapons. To the contrary, while “arms” is used as a general term for weapons (typically swords, knives, rifles, and pistols), it does not include ammunition, ammunition containers, flints, scabbards, holsters, armor, or shields, which are instead included in the category “accoutrements.” And there is no evidence from the small number of mentions of the repeater air guns in the databases before the

Civil War that such guns were used in the Founding Era by the American or British military, or that they were widely available in that period to civilians for hunting or self-defense.

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Books:

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8. ***Grammar and Good Taste: Reforming the American Language*** Yale University Press, 1982; paper ed., 1984. Reviews: *Library Journal*; *America*; *The New York Times Book Review*; *The Washington Post Book World*; *Chronicle of Higher Education*; *The Times* (London); *The Los Angeles Times Book Review*; *Journal of American History*; *Encounter*; *American Literature*; *Journal of American Studies*; *Amerikastudien*; *Book Review Digest*; *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*; *Technical Communication*; *The Augusta Chronicle*, *Augusta Herald*; *American Studies*; *South Atlantic Quarterly*; *English Language Notes*; *World Literature Today*; *History of Education Quarterly*; Caroline Bokinsky, *Studies in the American Renaissance*; *Etudes Anglaises*; *Review of English Studies*; *College Composition and Communication*; *American Speech*; *Anglia*; *Book Review Digest*; *ESQ*; *English Journal*. Selected for the "Editor's Choice" section of *The New York Times Book Review*. Selected by the Library of Congress for recording for the blind. Nominated for the 1982 Mina P. Shaughnessy Medal and the 1987 James Russell Lowell award of the Modern Language Association; selected by the Editorial Board of the National Council of Teachers of English for distribution as an affiliate publication of the NCTE.

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170. "Technology's Impact on Writing." Letter. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Jan. 21, 2000, B11.
171. "To Sir, or Ma'am, with Love." *Education Week*. Sept. 8, 1999, 45.

The Web of Language: a blog running from 2007 to the present dealing with issues of language and technology: <http://bit.ly/1B29f6v> Over 1.5 million page views..

Recent Invited Lectures, Workshops and Conference Presentations:

1. "Corpus Linguistics and the Original Meaning of the Second Amendment." University of Chicago Law School, 12 January, 2021.
2. Author interviews, "What's Your Pronoun?" New York Public Library, 4 February, 2020; Politics and Prose Books (Washington, DC), 5 February; Cuyahoga County Public Library. 6 February; Kansas City Public Library (MO), 11 February; Town Hall Seattle, 16 February; Powells Books, Portland OR, 17 February; City Lights Books, San Francisco, 18 February.
3. "Guns and Grammar: Big Data and the Meaning of 'bear arms' in the Second Amendment." Conference on Law and Corpus Linguistics, Brigham Young Univ. Law School, Feb. 6-8, 2019.
4. "Corpus evidence and the meaning of 'bear arms.'" Symposium: *District of Columbia v. Heller* 10 years on, Hastings College of Law, San Francisco, CA, Jan. 18, 2019.
5. "What's Your Pronoun?" Language Policy Forum, Sheffield Hallam University, UK, June 1, 2018.
6. "America's War on Language," Invited Lecture, University of Pennsylvania, April 19, 2018.
7. "Guns and Grammar: The Linguistics of the Second Amendment," Neubauer Symposium on Historical Semantics, University of Chicago, April 13, 2018.
8. "Speak the Language of Your Flag: Language and Immigration in the US, 1918-2018," Language and Borders Conference, University of Bristol, UK, March 26, 2018.
9. "Pronoun Showdown," Invited lecture, University of Essex, UK, Nov. 23, 2017.
10. "Going native: Brexit prompts linguistic cleansing." Conference on UK Language Policy after Brexit. Sheffield Hallam University (Sheffield, UK), Sept. 15, 2016.
11. "Pronoun Showdown: Are nonbinary pronouns and singular *they* ruining the language or making English great again?" Univ. of Tennessee (Knoxville), April 11, 2016.
12. "Speak the language of your flag." Present-Day English Discussion Group, Modern Language Association. Jan. 9, 2014.
13. "#twitterrevolution: Destabilizing the world, 140 characters at a time." Univ. of Sussex (Brighton, UK). March 21, 2013.
14. "Speak the language of your flag." In "creative" conversation, with Michael Erard. *Modern Language Association*. Boston, Jan. 3, 2013. Speakers invited by MLA Executive Director Rosemary Feal.
15. "Official English from the school house to the White House." Englishes in Europe Conference. Univ. of Sheffield. April, 2012.
16. "#twitterrevolution: Destabilizing the world, 140 characters at a time." Temple Contemporary, Temple University Art Museum. Oct. 11, 2012.
17. "Guns and grammar: Linguistic authority and legal interpretation in *Washington, D.C., v. Heller*" Stanford University. Nov. 10, 2011.
18. "Should everybody write? The destabilizing technologies of communication." Univ. of Chicago Semiotics Workshop, March 11, 2010.
19. "Guns and grammar: The linguistics of the Second Amendment." Law and Society Annual Conference, Denver, CO, June 30, 2009.
20. "Let's go to the phones." Univ. of Michigan invited lecture. Dec. 5, 2008.
21. "Policing English in America from the White House to the schoolhouse." Conference on prescriptivism in language. Univ. of Paris VII (Sorbonne), Paris, FR. Nov. 15, 2007.

22. "It's All Your Fault: Who's Really to Blame for the Literacy Crisis?" Conference on College Composition and Communication. New York City, March 2007.
23. "No University Student Left Behind: Writing and the Secretary of Education's Commission on Higher Education." Conference on College Composition and Communication. Chicago, March 2006.
24. "The Perils of the new SAT Writing Test." Conference on College Composition and Communication. San Francisco. March 17, 2005.
25. "Spanish, English and the New Nativism." Modern Language Association. Philadelphia. Dec. 30, 2004.
26. "Reading and Writing in the Digital Age." Invited presentation. Illinois Library Association, Chicago, September 30, 2004.
27. "Language Policies and Language Politics in the United States." "English and Minority Languages in the 2000 Census." Invited lectures, Univ. of Ryukyu, Okinawa, Japan, June, 2004.
28. "TeknoFear." Invited lecture, Northeastern Illinois University, April 15, 2004.
29. "Standards: They're Not for Everybody." Conference on College Composition and Communication. San Antonio, TX, March 25, 2004.
30. "The New Technologies of the Word." Plenary lecture. International Association of World Englishes Conference, Univ. of Illinois, October 17, 2002.
31. "Writing Effective Promotion Dossiers," Provost's Seminar, Univ. of Illinois, Sept. 7, 2001.
32. "Promotion and Tenure," a workshop for new executive officers, Association of Departments of English seminar, Monterey, California, June 29, 2001.
33. "From Pencils to Pixels: The New Technologies of Literacy." Invited lecture, UC Davis, March 2, 2001.
34. "The Illinois Professional Learning Partnership." Conference on College Composition and Communication, Denver, CO, March 15, 2001.
35. "Writing Effective Third-Year Faculty Reviews," Provost's Seminar, Univ. of Illinois, Feb. 26, 2001.
36. "Outreach for the Humanities," response to Graham Spanier; Chancellor's Conference, Univ. of Illinois, Jan. 31, 2001.
37. "Other Teachers' Students." Conference on College Composition and Communication, Minneapolis, MN, April 15, 2000.

Recent Media Interviews

1. Interviews for *What's Your Pronoun?* 2020-21: CBS Radio (NYC); NPR Weekend All Things Considered; CAP Radio (Sacramento, CA); Wisconsin Public Radio; KPBS San Diego; KWGS, Tulsa, OK; Slate: The Gist; KERA Radio; KATU TV, Portland, OR; KQED, San Francisco Public Radio; KPCC, Los Angeles; Talk the Talk (podcast); The Vocal Fries (podcast); That Word Chat (podcast).
2. "Tapestry," CBC-Radio "The Longing for Belonging," interview on pronouns, June 28, 2018.
3. "Air Talk," Larry Mantle, KPCC-NPR Los Angeles, Pronouns, Mar. 6, 2018.
4. "Do Official English laws work?" interview, KCBS, San Francisco. Aug. 24, 2017.
5. "Latinos in America." PBS documentary, aired October, 2013.
6. Various radio appearances on WILL-AM discussing language issues 1984-present.
7. "Extension 720" with Milt Rosenberg. WGN radio, Oct. 16, 2009. 2-hour interview about *A Better Pencil*.
8. Steve Fast, "The Classroom Connection" Oklahoma Public Radio, interview about *A Better Pencil*. Oct. 1, 2009.
9. Valerie Richardson Show. WPKN, Bridgeport CT, April 21, 2009. Half-hour interview about my work on usage and on technology.
10. Jim Brown, "The Current." CBC-Radio, Canada. July 15, 2008. Interview on Esperanto.
11. "The Peter Laufer Show", Green Radio 960 (San Francisco). 60 min. interview on Broadcast English, Dec. 28, 2008.

12. "Official English in Small Town America," *Eight Forty-Eight*, WBEZ-FM (Chicago public radio), June 13, 2007. Lead interview for the show, also featured on the WBEZ web site: http://www.wbez.org/Program_848_Segment.aspx?segmentID=11395
13. "The English Language." Focus 580, WILL-AM, multiple appearances each year from 1982-present.
14. "Good English." The Robin and Maynard Show. KQBZ-FM (Seattle), May 3, 2005.
15. "Pronunciation in American English." Interview by Avi Arditti and Roseann Skirble broadcast on "Coast to Coast" by Voice of America (4/24/03); posted on voanews.com/wordmaster.
16. "The English Language," The Joan Rivers Show, WOR-AM, New York, June 25, 2001.
17. "The *New Oxford Dictionary of English*," "Sandy Rios Live," WYLL-FM, Chicago, Aug. 14, 1998.

Editorships and Commissions:

Chair, Committee on Public Policy, Conference on College Composition and Communication, National Council of Teachers of English, 2003-06.
 Member, Board of Advisors for the television series "Do You Speak American?" with Robert MacNeil.
 Member, *PMLA* Advisory Committee, 1998-2001.
 Member, editorial advisory board, *Liverpool Studies in Language and Discourse*, 1993-present.
 Member, MLA Delegate Assembly, 1998-2003.
 Chair, MLA Division on Language and Society, 2001-02.
 Member, Commission on Language, National Council of Teachers of English, 1984-87; 1999-2002.
 Editor, *Publication of the American Dialect Society* (monograph series) 1984-93.
 Member, Committee on Language and the Schools, Linguistic Society of America, 1992-1997.
 Associate Editor, *Publication of the American Dialect Society*, 1982-84.

Memberships in Professional Organizations:

American Dialect Society (life member; member, Committee on New Words, 1975-82; member, Committee on Usage, 1982-present; member, Centennial Publications Committee; Centennial Publicity Committee; Centennial Documentaries Committee).
 Modern Language Association (member, Delegate Assembly, 1996-99).
 National Council of Teachers of English (member, Commission on the English Language, two terms). Chair, Committee on Public Language, 2009-12.
 Conference on College Composition and Communication.
 Conference of Editors of Learned Journals, 1985-93.
 Linguistic Society of America; member, Committee on Language in the Schools, 1992-94.
 Illinois Association of Teachers of English (member, program committee, 1987-88).

Biographical Notices:

Who's Who in America
Directory of American Scholars
Contemporary Authors
Who's Where Among Writers
International Authors and Writers Who's Who
International Linguistic Directory
Who's Who in American Education

Who's Who in the World
Who's Who in the Humanities

Consulting:

Legal consulting and expert witness reports and testimony for a variety of law firms and for the State of California Attorney General..

Media consulting for television, radio, and newspapers, including ABC's Nightline, Champaign-Urbana News-Gazette, The Chicago Tribune, Cincinnati Enquirer, Los Angeles Times, The McNeil-Lehrer Report, The New York Times, Newsweek, Orlando Sentinel, Prentice-Hall, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, Scott-Foresman, Inc., Springfield (IL) Register, USA Today, U.S. News and World Report, WICD-TV (Champaign, IL), William Safire.

Professional consulting for numerous academic and university presses.